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## A GREAT VICTORY FOR HONEST POLITICS.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

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THE years which bring the philosophic mind bring also a sense of proportion and a serenity of spirit which enable one to cast all personal ambitions and all personal animosities into "the limbo of forgotten things." In discussing, therefore, the subject of this paper, if any expressions which appear to be unduly strong find their way into it they are inspired not by ill-feeling towards individuals, but only by that hatred of political corruption which has had more or less complete possession of the writer all his life. There is not a person in any degree responsible for the evils which are herein strongly condemned whose political advancement, if honestly and fairly won, in an open field and a fair fight, would give rise to any criticism, except possibly upon the electors for the lack of wisdom in their choice. It is not the persons but the system which is the object of attack; and against the system the attack ought to be relentlessly maintained until the last vestige of it is driven out of American politics. "Bossism" has indeed been the curse of our politics for a long while past; and, if "government of the people by the people and for the people" is to continue, that evil system, leading to all abhorrent forms of debauchery, corruption, and degradation of the public service,

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must absolutely disappear. In striving for its disappearance, however, there is no need for undue condemnation of those who have been responsible for it, if they will abandon their evil ways and, placing themselves upon an equality with all other persons desiring to enter the public service, submit their qualifications to the impartial judgment of the voters; but, with less than that concession, no true friend of honest politics can ever be satisfied.

The reappearance of the moral law as an indispensable element in our system of government ought to be a source of great encouragement to all good citizens. The conflict between honest politics and dishonest politics, a conflict for the initiation of which we are largely indebted to Governor Folk of Missouri, has now been waged in many cities and States, with a resulting victory for the right in almost every instance; and the degrading and demoralizing system heretofore accepted has at last met the condemnation it so justly deserved and which by our cowardly acquiescence it has too long escaped.

And every real lover of his country, without regard to his previous condition of partisan servitude, ought to rejoice at the moral lesson so plainly taught by the elections of last November. For "the plain people," in Mr. Lincoln's phrase, saw through the disguises in which our political "bosses" have been disguising their schemes. But, while rejoicing at the result, we must not forget that we have only taken the first step—only drawn "the first blood" in what is likely to be a long and arduous struggle, unless the enemy sooner capitulates. Such victories won by an undisciplined army of enthusiastic reformers are sure to be followed by more or less specious efforts of dishonest schemers to erect a new system of "bossism" of their own on the ruins of the old and beaten system. Others temporarily allied with the good cause, but at heart intriguers and corruptionists, will endeavor to form alliances, open or secret, with such members of the defeated combination of plunderers as they can persuade to betray their old associates, in the hope of a continuance of their share of the plunder in a new association.

Another peril, perhaps equally grave, is likely to beset such a victory. Some men join in such a contest in the confident expectation, no matter what protestations to the contrary have been made, that, if victory follows, the spoils of office will be distributed among the victors. Possibly they are incapable of under-

standing that the triumph achieved in November was never intended to constitute a new tribe of spoilsmen, disposing of offices in the old way to new henchmen—that is to say, a mere change of the names of our “bosses.” In Philadelphia, it meant just the contrary, a sheer, absolute and uncompromising divorce of all form of patronage and “pull” from the city government; and that such government should in the future be conducted solely and exclusively for the public advantage. Above the doorway of every official in the City Hall the people have inscribed this legend: “No man who assisted in subjecting Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to the corrupt system now overthrown need enter here”; and a conclusive test of the sincerity of any man professing to desire decent politics will be found in his willingness or unwillingness to join in political fellowship, in any shape or form whatever, with any member of the defeated combination which so long dishonored and robbed Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, with the object of restoring the old evils under a new name.

The brunt of the fight is still before us; and, in reforming our lines for the next assault, we need not regret if some half-hearted self-seekers fall out of the ranks, for, in such a time as the present, the room of such men is far more valuable than their company. The wise words of Secretary Taft, spoken just after the election, should never be forgotten: “Those who brought about the defeat of the machine cannot afford to lie back on their oars and think they have won a lasting victory. They have merely carried the first intrenchments. What is needed is the earnest attention and work of young men entering politics with the unselfish desire to make them better, and who will strive for open conventions and a free choice by the people of all candidates for office. Such a victory will not be completed for several years.” All the same, the glad light of a new day was visible, all around the national horizon, on the morning of the eighth of November, and we are entitled to be glad and grateful for its promise that the Eighth Commandment will again take its proper place in our politics.

In Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, the word “organization” is a euphemism for a band of dishonest politicians herded together, with the single purpose of robbing the taxpayers, and it is used in that sense only in this article. In Boston, both “organizations” joined together and were overthrown by a candidate for the office of Prosecuting Attorney who entered the lists without a

nomination from either the Democratic or Republican machine; without a contribution from any corporation; without the support of any influential newspaper; while all these powerful political agencies united in supporting his opponent. Astonishing as it may seem, by going straight "back to the people" and asking for their suffrages without fear of those machines, their money, their organization, or their newspapers, he received a great majority of votes. This victory is the more remarkable because the successful candidate is not known to have commended himself to the electorate by any distinguished public service. It would, therefore, seem to be a simple assertion by the voters of Boston of their political independence—an assertion by them that they owned their own votes, and would cast them as they pleased without longer wearing around their necks a collar inscribed: "I am the serf of the 'bosses' of my party and will vote as they dictate."

In the City of New York, the proposal to the voters was of a very different character so far as the candidate was concerned, though the challenge to the voter to exercise his independence of both corrupt political organizations was the same. Mr. Jerome had attracted not only the attention but the confidence and the admiration of all men who hate corrupt politics without reference to the partisan label they might bear. His striking and attractive personality was, therefore, a very important element in the apparently hopeless contest upon which he entered, when he served a defiant and contemptuous notice upon the "bosses" of both the Democratic and Republican parties in the City of New York that he cared for no nomination either or both of them could give him, and that his appeal was only to the voters as citizens. The voters responded to his appeal with an alacrity and an enthusiasm which were a sure presage of the splendid victory he won, and any person disposed to take a cheerless view of the future of the Republic need only consider the results of these two canvasses, to have his faith in free government wholly and absolutely restored, and to be able to rejoice that he is a citizen of the United States and a sharer in the beneficent blessings of its republican institutions,—institutions based, as upon a rock, upon the principle that the will of the majority in all political questions not only must prevail, but ought to prevail, now and always.

In Ohio, a similar struggle proved that the voters of that State cherished the same contempt for political "bosses" as was enter-

tained by the voters of Boston and New York. They inflicted a most mortifying and overwhelming defeat upon the Republican "boss" of Cincinnati, and dragged down with him the Republican candidate for Governor because of a supposed alliance with the "boss"; and, in Maryland, the courageous attitude maintained for so many years by Secretary Bonaparte was finally justified by a like victory over the same evil system.

In Philadelphia, and throughout Pennsylvania, the same righteous battle was fought and a like splendid victory was won; but the conditions of the struggle there were far more discouraging than prevailed elsewhere. It is well known that the corrupt politicians of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, with their servile allies in the rural sections of the State, had been permitted to rob the public treasuries at their pleasure for more than a quarter of a century. These men called themselves Republicans, because the Republican party was in an overwhelming majority in both these cities as well as in the State, and corrupt politicians always manage to belong to the majority party, or constitute themselves a venal annex to it.

It followed, therefore, as inevitably as the day follows the night, that the persons engaged in "looting" the treasuries of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania would label themselves Republicans, and during the whole of their long, tortuous and criminal career they have worn that label. Many excellent reasons why Pennsylvania took her place in the Republican column in 1860 and remained there steadfastly ever since, and with a steadily increasing majority, could be given; and in the last election the majority for President Roosevelt and Vice-President Fairbanks reached the phenomenal figure of three hundred and fifty thousand votes. Their majority was returned as over five hundred thousand, but the discrepancy is accounted for by the fraudulent ballots placed in the ballot-boxes, apparently in mere wanton hatred of an honest election; and it was against such a colossal majority that any warfare for decent government had to be waged.

There were other odds against the men who began this apparently hopeless strife, equally appalling. A fund exceeding ten millions of dollars had been distributed for many years at each session of the legislature among the charities of the State. This great sum had been so manipulated that no charitable or educational institution, however deserving, could receive adequate aid

unless its representatives avowed themselves supporters of the "bosses" at whose behests the bounty was apportioned among them.

Another gigantic corruption fund possessed by the "organization" consisted of the vast deposits of the money of the taxpayers in favored banks and banking institutions. So reckless had its members become in the use of this source of corruption that they allowed the children of the State to lack instruction in the public schools, and the salaries of the teachers to remain unpaid, in order that they might divide among themselves and their henchmen the illegal profits they could gain from the use of these great sums deposited in the institutions they selected, which institutions in their turn contributed money to aid in debauching the electorate at each recurring election. The sums so kept on deposit beyond any necessity for doing so have exceeded in recent years ten millions of dollars. In addition to these sources of strength, the "bosses" owned, in absolute fee simple, every office-holder, however high or however low, in most of the considerable cities of the State and throughout the counties. Almost every mayor was their tool, and every man hired to run an elevator in a public building was their tool, as were all the office-holders between these two classes. The chief duty of policemen for many years, in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, has been of a twofold character—to protect the haunts of the most loathsome vice and crime from any interference, in order that politicians of higher or lower degree might receive an infamous revenue from them, and, in the second place, to secure such pretended returns from each election precinct as their masters for the time being demanded from them. This latter work was accomplished by assaulting or arresting any citizen who appeared at the polls demanding an opportunity to see that the votes were honestly cast and honestly counted, and by introducing into the boxes before the voting began an adequate number of fraudulent ballots or adding such pretended votes at the close, as were necessary to produce the majority required of them.

The courts had kindly decided that ballot-boxes thus filled by such men were too sacred to be opened to the light of day upon the sworn allegation that if opened they would disclose great numbers of fraudulent ballots. And, in almost every perpetration of such frauds, and they probably number now over a hundred,

which has been dragged to the light of a public trial at the bar of the criminal justice, some member of this corrupt combination has been found associated in one way or another with these crimes against the ballot.

The members of the Fire Department were in many instances used for the same base purposes, as was indeed the great majority of all the vast array of office-holders borne upon the pay-rolls of those cities. As if the exaction of such debasing services from men paid by the public to serve the public was not enough, they were required to pay into the treasury of their masters a considerable percentage of their salaries to create another large corruption fund.

In the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, the "bosses" had also allied themselves with what are mistakenly called "Public Service Corporations." They had impudently given away to private promoters and speculators, without any return to the public, but doubtless with ample returns to themselves, the rights of the people in their own highways. They had poured fabulous wealth into the laps of a few men to whom they had handed over, as free gifts, franchises belonging to the people, and worth very many millions of dollars. Indeed, much of the ill-gotten wealth flaunted by these beneficiaries of the "bosses" in the faces of those they have despoiled can be directly traced, without a flaw in the chain of evidence, to this appropriation of property belonging to the people, and which ought in common justice to be returned to them. It was to be expected that all corporations, whose owners were thus fattening upon their ill-gotten spoils, should be ardent supporters of the "bosses," both with money and with votes, as they always have been.

Then, too, the larger business corporations, interested either in legislation at the State Capital or by the municipal legislatures of these great cities, or in the maintenance of protective duties at Washington, felt obliged to pour golden streams annually into the all-devouring maw of the "organization." It is currently repeated that an annual tribute, amounting to over a hundred thousand dollars, was paid to it even in off years, by a few corporations alone, upon the well-worn and now utterly exploded pretext that it was necessary to do so to protect the interests of their stockholders from marauders and blackmailers.

As if all these sources of great strength were not suffi-



cient, the National Government has drifted into a condition of practical alliance with these "bosses," because they have had practical control of almost all of the nominations for Congress, not only in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, but throughout the State; and at last, with unparalleled effrontery, they actually appointed a Senator, without even going through the form of consulting the Governor, or any member of the legislature, or any organ of public opinion, or any body of voters; but simply by their own edict. No matter how excellent may have been their choice, such a method of making Senators is a grotesque travesty of popular government. In this way, all the patronage of the National Government in Pennsylvania has been concentrated in their hands. Every postmaster, great and small; every revenue collector; every consul; every minister and ambassador pays tribute to them in one form or other—that is, by political services or by checks. It therefore happened that, when it was determined, notwithstanding all these sources of strength and support at their command, to wage war against them, the anomaly was presented that almost every person in Pennsylvania who had been honored with a commission bearing the signature of President Roosevelt was the avowed, persistent and reckless opponent of that decency and honesty in politics for which President Roosevelt has so courageously battled all his life, and in the struggle for which his name and personality have been of such inestimable value. The history of this alliance between the Executive Department of the National Government and the "bosses" cynically engaged in despoiling Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is only part of the same system which has spread its evil influence over many other States, and which President Roosevelt found in full operation when, in the shadow of a great national tragedy, he entered upon the many difficult duties of his office. It was unreasonable to expect that he could at once reverse the evil system which had grown up by gradual accretion for many years; but it is perhaps not too much to hope that, sooner or later, he will add to his other signal services to the cause of civic righteousness that of ending this ignoble use of the federal offices as spoils, whereby the appointments at the disposal of the President are used as props for the indefensible system we have been considering. No defence would seem to be possible for a policy which requires the President of the United States, in the appointment of federal officials,

to furnish at the expense of the taxpayers political workers and shouters for the particular person who happens for the time being to be a Senator or Representative in Congress. If two equally reputable citizens compete for an office, there is no excuse whatever, in good morals or in good politics, for President Roosevelt giving to the one competitor, at the expense of the taxpayers, because he happens to be holding the office, the great and often controlling advantage of political agents, advocates and contributors of cash, to assist the occupant of the office to defeat his competitor. It happened some years ago that, in a single contest in Pennsylvania between an utterly discredited and dishonest politician who was seeking re-election to Congress and an honest and capable representative whom the honest Republicans sought to put in his place, the taxpayers were supplying the incompetent and dishonest man with more than fifty national, State and municipal office-holders, to defeat the competent and honest candidate they preferred, and the defeat naturally followed. The Constitution says: *The President shall nominate*, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint certain officials; but, in the gradual growth of the spoils system and of the class of politicians such a system inevitably produces, those plain and unmistakable words have been construed as if the provision read: "The Senators and Representatives in Congress of the same political faith as the President shall, in all cases, nominate the officers whose jurisdiction is coextensive with the State or district they happen to represent." A more indefensible perversion of the plain language and meaning of a constitutional mandate can hardly be conceived; and yet, every day, such perversion is acted upon and it seems now taken for granted, both by the Executive Department and the Legislative Department, that such perversion is the actual reading of the clause in question. The plain truth is that appointment under the Constitution is an exclusively Executive act, while confirmation under the same instrument is exclusively a Legislative act, and it is the duty of each department to confine itself to its own duty, without interference with the duty of the other.

It is difficult to estimate the number of active supporters the "bosses" were thus enabled to maintain at the expense of the taxpayers to assist in despoiling them. The policemen, the firemen, the clerks, the hangers-on, and all the other receivers of pay from

the city treasuries, including even the tipstaves of the courts, when swollen by all the keepers of saloons and brothels, and all others requiring licenses or protection from the city, or favors of any sort, were in themselves a very considerable army. To them were to be added all contractors, subcontractors, and workmen at work for the city, and all the persons employed by the so-called Public Service Corporations, constituting another considerable army of retainers, equally though less directly supplied to the "bosses" at the public expense, and all of President Roosevelt's office-holders. These forces, when added together, aggregated a compact and obedient army of at least thirty thousand men ready for any service demanded of them, from filling a ballot-box to assaulting a reformer.

The existence of these compact cohorts had long been known in a general way; the crimes they had committed, especially their crimes at elections, were familiar to everybody; but, in the course of the struggle, under the masterly management of Judge Gordon as counsel for Mayor Weaver, full, distinct and conclusive proof was given, by the production of the original written agreement, and the sworn testimony of one of the parties to it, that "the peerless leader" of the "organization," who was Governor Pennypacker's Commissioner of Insurance, and whom he had recently eulogized in an executive document, owned a large share of the notorious filtration contracts, which Major Gillette of the United States Army has recently reported to involve plunder exceeding six millions of dollars. A partner of this "peerless leader" was the wife of another leader only a shade less "peerless" than his chief; and other revelations, almost equally appalling, were made in other prosecutions. In most communities, even the victims of "money madness,"—that is, the men engaged in the ardent pursuit of money belonging to other people ("convey, the wise it call")—would have been shocked when proof was followed by proof of such flagrant debauchery of the public service; but it was the most distressing feature of the struggle in Philadelphia that, in addition to all other sources of strength, the "organization" possessed, it could securely rely upon the active sympathy and support of what are generally called the "financial interests." From the beginning of this great moral battle to the end, even to the very eve of the election, and after all these shocking revelations, most of the representatives of the banking and

financial institutions of Philadelphia were massed in solid column behind "the corrupt and criminal combination" which the honest citizens were about to signally overthrow. No proofs of crime affected these gentlemen. From beginning to end, many hundreds of the wealthy and otherwise reputable citizens of Philadelphia were the open or secret allies of its plunderers; and yet they wonder at the growing hatred of aggregated wealth.

Then, too, the Philadelphia Bar proved itself unworthy of its great and honorable reputation. Many of its leading members, though there were here also honorable exceptions, accepted retainers from the so-called "vested interests," so as to disqualify themselves from assisting honest citizens, striving for better government, with their professional counsel and guidance. Perhaps this moral paralysis of the leaders of the Bar was partly due to the known attitude of some of the judges on the Bench; for what Mr. Jerome has recently said of some of the judges of New York is eminently true of some of the judges of Philadelphia and throughout Pennsylvania, in all the grades of our judiciary.

And yet such confederates of the evil system we are considering ought not to be too severely blamed. The long condition of base and degrading political bondage had been slowly doing its evil work upon their character. As has already been said, such bondage had existed for more than a quarter of a century. It had of course grown by what it fed upon. Its demoralizing influence had spread into every hamlet of the commonwealth, for everywhere could be found some person more or less influential, who was a beneficiary, or hoped to be a beneficiary in one way or another, of this powerful combination; while the country press was generally subsidized by it, so that it seemed chimerical to imagine that men no longer young, and tired of the strifes and antagonisms of life, would live to witness the redemption of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania from their low-minded and craven-hearted servitude.

Then came a wholly unexpected change in the situation. Some especially flagrant attack upon their rights of property seems to have been needed to arouse the citizens of Philadelphia to that white heat of anger which was essential alike to the inception and the prosecution of the great struggle which awaited them; and when it was clearly seen that the "organization" proposed, in addition to all its other outrages, to take from the people their invaluable Gas Works with their exclusive franchises and to hand

over these great properties for the lifetime of three generations to a private corporation, upon terms which were popularly believed to be equivalent to the "stealing" of them, the wrath of the plain people knew no bounds and was easily and swiftly transformed into what proved to be a resistless political movement.

The most controlling factor, however, was the fact that man is a moral animal; and there is no more interesting, and certainly no more instructive and inspiring, study in the history of the world than the gradual development of the moral sense among men. Its growth from Epicurus to Christ has been recently portrayed; but, long before Epicurus, the seminal idea is discernible. Indeed, it is discernible the very first time we come face to face with man living in anything which can be called an approach to a civilized environment. As soon as he is shown in contact with his neighbor, the idea of duty towards that neighbor is seen emerging, and, slowly but surely, more and more governs his conduct and his life; and, since Christ came, it is a commonplace of history that the moral sense has with far greater rapidity come to dominate his actions. It was overlooked that, in the hearts of multitudes of men and women in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and in every county of Pennsylvania, the faith, though dormant, still existed that the Eighth Commandment was of vital obligation in politics, and that an honest and straightforward appeal to that faith was reasonably sure of an answer.

The persons best qualified to make that appeal were, of course, the teachers of religion, and they were quick to see their opportunity and to seize upon it. Every religious denomination, without exception, became an advocate of civic righteousness, and almost every clergyman threw himself, heart and soul, into the contest, as soon as the moral and religious character of it became clear to him. In season and out of season; in their convocations; in their prayer-meetings; from their pulpits, they kept repeating over and over again that the modern reading of the Eighth Commandment is not the true one. They insisted it does not read: "Thou shalt not steal, unless thou art a politician; but, if a politician, steal all thou canst"; but that it reads plainly and unequivocally, "Thou shalt not steal." It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this steady continuous, eloquent preaching of this simple truth to the voters. For the first time, they saw themselves confronted with the duty of voting honestly as citizens, or worshipping hypocritic-

ally as Christians; and a great majority of them chose to vote honestly and to worship God in sincerity and in truth.

Then, too, was witnessed the amazing power of an untrammelled and independent press. The great journals which owed no allegiance to this "corrupt and criminal combination," whose owners and editors had never been upon its pay-rolls, and who were in no danger of going upon them, began their effective work of moral propagandism. They taught, from the beginning of the struggle to the end, in words often tipped as it were with fire, that the privilege of the ballot was a consecrated privilege, and that no man had any more right to prostitute it to his own wicked and selfish purposes when he approached the polls than to so prostitute himself in any other relation in life. In every form of pathetic entreaty and in every form of eloquent appeal, these great newspapers made their way to the consciences of the people, and any attempt to state the extent of their influence, or their share in the great victory which was achieved, would only lead to the use of words which might be thought to be exaggeration. It is enough to say that every friend of decent government throughout the land, North, South, East and West, owes them a debt of lasting gratitude.

In addition to all these forces on the right side, there was another of a value which can be truly said to be quite beyond calculation. There happened to be sitting in the Mayor's chair in Philadelphia a singular personage. He was a self-made man, still young, who had been born in England, and coming here in his youth had struggled upward day by day until he attained a very respectable position at the Bar of Philadelphia, from which he was promoted by the "bosses" themselves, first to be the Prosecuting Attorney of the city, and afterwards to be its Mayor, for they believed they had in him a useful and pliant tool. The years bring with them great compensations; but, like all earthly blessings, they bring some abatements in their train, so that it required some time to persuade oneself that John Weaver really was the kind of man he has now conclusively proven himself to be: a growing man, dominated absolutely by his conscience in all his public actions, brave to the verge of rashness in any line of conduct he has persuaded himself is right, and incapable of betraying the people. Given such a man in such a place, and the whole aspect of the struggle was changed as in a moment. The good people of

Philadelphia all said in the beginning, "If only the Mayor remains true"; and soon they were all saying, "Now that we know that the Mayor will remain true, the chances of the great battle have turned in our favor." Each day endeared him more and more to those who care for pure and honest politics. To-day, no office-holder of the city of Philadelphia, high or low, is taxed a penny of his salary for any cause whatever; no such office-holder, high or low, is allowed to interfere with the exercise of the sacred right of the ballot by any voter; no such office-holder is allowed to spend the time for which the taxpayers pay him in the service of their plunderers, although he may have originally owed his appointment to them. The law establishing a civil service for Philadelphia has been rescued from the contemptuous disregard of it always heretofore shown, into an active, energetic and impartial administration of its provisions, so that to-day every applicant for employment, in any department of the municipal government, is absolutely sure of a "square deal." "Pull" has been abolished and merit has been substituted through every grade of employment. Mayor Weaver has also developed into a most effective popular orator. His directness of appeal, his manly and fervent insistence upon morality in politics, and his evident sincerity made a profound impression upon every audience he was persuaded to address.

His co-workers were pure-minded, high-spirited, fearless citizens, having no aim in their political activity but the public welfare. It would be invidious to name them, but there is no danger that a grateful community will ever forget their arduous, unselfish and effective labors, especially as those labors have been crowned with such a brilliant success. They came from their counting-houses; from their great manufacturing establishments; from their offices; from all the pursuits of a varied business community like Philadelphia; and they gave ungrudgingly of their money and their time and their intelligence in support of the noble cause of which they voluntarily constituted themselves the champions. The roll of honor on which their names are legibly inscribed will not be permitted to fade from the sight of the people they helped to rescue from a bondage worse than death.

And it sometimes seemed as if the stars in their courses were fighting for the friends of pure government. At a critical moment in the battle, a number of the members of the Union League saw

fit to range themselves on the side of the "bosses" and demanded that the warfare against them should cease. Such a wanton betrayal of the cause of honest politics, by such men at such a time, might have had a disastrous effect; but, in truth, it only served to show the undaunted courage of the hosts of reform. Such as were members of the Union League indignantly denied the right of anybody to dishonor its name by such association, and all, as honest citizens seeking honest government, trampled the appeal beneath their feet.

But some weaker brethren were in danger of being misled by the cry of "reform within the party." It was said that the "organization," however bad, was in control of the Republican party in the city and in the State, and that those who struck at it were striking, not only at the Republican party, but at President Roosevelt and his administration. The situation was unsatisfactory, and even good men were saying, "We must not go too far, you know." And then one morning we all read these inspiring words of cheer to Mayor Weaver from Mr. Root, who had just accepted the place of Secretary of State:

"I have acquired absolute confidence in the sincerity of your purpose and in your pluck and persistency, and I have a strong desire that the city of Philadelphia, whose history and good name are so dear to every American, shall be relieved from the strain which a corrupt and criminal combination, masquerading under the name of Republicans, have put upon her. I wish you God-speed in your future efforts."

The ringing phrases of this now historic letter, which came "like a bolt from the blue," were at once upon all lips and reappeared in a thousand forms thenceforward to the end of the canvass. From the day of its publication, all doubt of the result in Philadelphia disappeared, leaving only the question of the size of the majority, which proved to be larger than even the most sanguine friends of the cause expected.

As if this triumph in the city was not glory enough for one campaign, a victory, possibly pregnant with even more beneficent results, was achieved in the State, transforming the majority of 350,000 votes for the Republican candidates last year into a majority of almost 90,000 votes for the reform candidate this year. At the opening of the canvass, the prospect of redeeming the State was certainly not brilliant. While everybody who



knew Mr. Berry spoke most favorably of him, he was then holding the unimportant office of Mayor of the city of Chester. He was the nominee of the Prohibition party, and Prohibition is not very popular in Pennsylvania. He was the nominee of the Democratic party, and the Democratic party has for nearly fifty years been extremely unpopular in Pennsylvania, and never more so than a year ago; but, as the canvass progressed, he more and more impressed the voters with his absolute honesty. They saw in him a man who, if elected, would change the administration of the finances of the State from that of a great corruption fund, farmed out to favored politicians, into a system in which the interests and the true financial advantage of the commonwealth would be the only consideration. His opponent fortunately represented every evil attribute of the "organization"; so that, as the canvass progressed, it was seen that the division throughout the State would largely be upon the same lines as in Philadelphia—those who believed in corrupt politics would vote for the candidate of the "organization," while most of those who believed in honest politics would vote for Mr. Berry, although it was also known that the candidate of the "organization" would receive the votes of many honest and well-meaning men who were the slaves of the party name, for the "organization" had so manipulated the legislature and the courts that it alone was permitted to use the word Republican, no other citizens being allowed to use it, no matter how clearly and emphatically they distinguished it by other words from the use made of it by the "organization" itself. Honest Republicans were, therefore, driven to the use of an entirely new name, which is always a great disadvantage if adopted immediately before an election.

And now the stars in their courses seemed to be fighting for the cause of reform in the State also, for, while thousands of voters were halting between two opinions, doubting if all the assertions of the corrupt manipulation of the State Treasury could be true, the news was flashed into every corner of the commonwealth that a Pittsburg bank, having on deposit more than a million dollars of the money of the taxpayers, was bankrupt because it had used the money to build up schemes of politicians more or less closely affiliated with the "organization," and that in an agony of shame and despair the cashier had killed himself. His death completed a trilogy of awful tragedies, all traceable beyond question

to the same cause. The cashier of the State Treasury at the State capital had killed himself in a like agony of shame and despair, because the then leaders of the "organization" had robbed it of its last dollar, and discovery was at the door. The cashier of the People's Bank in Philadelphia, lending its State deposits to one of the same leaders on his promise to "shake the plum-tree," upon seeing as in a vision the doors of the penitentiary opening for him, had also killed himself. These three graves, these three desolate and dishonored homes, these three widows and their fatherless children, all chargeable to the same abhorrent dishonesty and all thus grouped together, brought the consequences of misrule home to the conscience of the voters as never before, and thenceforth the election of Mr. Berry was assured.

The Lincoln Party, born in a night, was offered to the Republican voters as their only way of escape from a repetition of such horrors, and was eagerly accepted by them; and by placing the name of Mr. Berry at the head of its ticket, it succeeded, with the other organizations supporting him, in securing his election by the great majority already mentioned. It is therefore entirely accurate to say that the battle of last November, both in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania, was fought out distinctly and unmistakably upon the issue, Shall or shall not the Eighth Commandment be applied to politics? Philadelphia has answered, Yes; Pennsylvania has answered, Yes; and both in unmistakable tones. Such results offer reasonable grounds for great and sincere rejoicing; but the men who have waged this great warfare know that the struggle is not over, but is really only beginning. It is to be hoped they will continue it, with renewed courage and renewed hope, until they have actually redeemed the cities of the State, as well as the State itself, from "the corrupt and criminal combination masquerading as Republicans" which has so long plundered and dishonored them. Full and conclusive proofs have now been laid before the people. They know the crimes which have been committed, and who committed them. They are now familiar with the long and loathsome story of the degradation of our public life, chargeable to the "organization." If henceforth they are not on the right side it can only be because they prefer corruption and dishonesty.

Honest politics need just now, as never before, the support of all good men, and especially young men, for to them belong

the duty and the glory of carrying on this warfare until all graft and all grafters are driven from every department of our public life; but they must bring to the work a spirit of absolute consecration. If they are asked to ally themselves with any corruptionist who has left the sinking ship of his old associates only because it was sinking, they should treat the suggestion as one of personal dishonor,—nor must they serve such a cause only in hope of compensation for their service. They must be in politics, not for what they can get, but for what they can do. They must be pure in spirit and self-denying in sacrifice, and aflame with devotion to two symbols—that of duty and that of country. Inspired by such motives, sooner or later they will restore our politics to their old standards of dignity and honor, and rest them again, as of old, upon true religion and true patriotism. Such service is worthy of the noblest ambition. It is the service in which Warren fell at Bunker Hill and Shaw at Fort Wagner, and it ennobles all its true and faithful soldiers, living and dead, in peace as in war, for they are all defenders of the best form of government—in spite of all its imperfections, and there are many and grave—ever known, that of the American Democracy.

WAYNE MAC VEAGH.